776 /268 cont./
794 subscription for the protection of a foreign personage; and this
[571] personage is not always a compatriot or a neighbor, for no one is
[634] a prophet in his country. But for the moment let us reserve this aspect, geographical in a way, in order to study in a little detail the manner in which the institution presents itself within definite cantons.

792 During the dangerous periods of the siba, a classic function
• 728 of the holiness, or of his beneficiaries, was to play the role of
175 patron, guarantor, or conciliator in disputes between groups. This is what an author from the Sous has named "the extinction of the fires of public disturbances," it'fâ' nîrân ath-thâ'irât bayna'n-nâs (2).

2. Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî, t. II, p. 52,
1. 11.

Thus an act of 1079 Heg.: 1668 shows the marabouts descending from Sidi ᶜAyâd of I'amast (Ud Berreh'il, in the valley of the Sous) at work. The Idaw Geryun and the Iqorrân, former occupants, were in conflict. The latter had to retreat to Idaw Mçat't'og. One day, it was the octave of the Aïd, they had assembled on the az'allo for the collective prayer when the I. Geryun, disguised as women, attacked them. Whence a series of /269/ inexpiable vendettas. Then the marabouts intervened. They fixed a limit by the implantation of the "crook of God," takurayt n-rbbi (cf. ar. /Arabic/ ᶜukkâz in the same sense).
[784] They matched this operation with terrible imprecations against anyone who violated the truce: God would pursue the guilty one and his descendants to complete extinction, h'atta yanqarid'û min
[681] ad-dunyâ. On a more temporal plane, the infraction would be penalized by a fine of 1,000 ounces, to be paid to the descendants of the saint.

776 A number of other documents retrace less colorfully analogous
792 operations. It is very often Sidi Mh'and who is on the scene, and
728 that is in conformity with his passe-partout personality. His descendants, along with those of the saint of Assttif, regularly stand

/269 cont./

796 792 •728 security for the civic life of the Idma: elections, warlike or peaceful proceedings, etc. Sometimes, and this is an interesting case, the intervention presents a more precise character, that of legislation. I find a detailed example of this only in the Haut /Upper/ Dwiran, truthfully speaking contiguous to our domain. According to an act of 1052 Heg.: 1642, Sidi ᶜAbd al-Karîm al-Masnâwî (1)

> 1. Is this nasab to be compared to the one that certain members of the Zaouia of Dilâ' bore precisely during this period? The coincidence would be disturbing.

codified the relations between the a. Rrays and the a. Mezgur. [681] [628] This is a penal tariffication of the ordinary type, but offering the originality of resulting from an agreement between villages, under a saint's ministry.

793 796 The role of these personages in the assembly of rather vast groups by an operation which is properly a foundation has not, truthfully speaking, given rise among the Seksawa, whose monarchic unification undoubtedly goes back at least to the thirteenth century, to legends as typical as, for example, that of Sidi Brahim of Tighanimin in the I. T'anan (2).

> 2. Very rich legend of a founding saint, recorded by De Leyris, "Le mariage en Idaw T'anan /Marriage in Idaw T'anan/," in. /unpublished/ CHEAM, 1950. This theme of the foundation is current in North Africa. The most celebrated case is that of Moulay Idris. But it is not the clearest, owing to a powerful urban etiology. Analysis will be simpler in the case of synoecisms of bourgs or of rural groups. Cf., for example, C. Trumelet, L'Algérie légendaire, 1892, pp. 118, 121, 180, 181, 184, etc., and Les saints

*634 /157 cont./
184 square kilometers, and whatever the numerical strength of the
131 population may be, it does not exceed these dimensions.

It cannot suffice, in order to explain this fractioning into visibly equal units, to invoke the geographic arrangement of the places; as a matter of fact, it is observed in a land divided into regular compartments, as in the high valleys of the Tichka and of the Igdad, as well as in a region of plateaus, for example, to the west of the Sirwa, in the Azilal, or the south of the Haha, or the land of the Ilalen; likewise it exists in the big valleys, such as those of the Nefis or of the Tifnout. The precise reason for this surprising constancy of the dimensions of the "taqbilt" seems to us to have to be sought in the no less invariable nature of its institutions.

*634 In most of the republics whose territory has remained inde-
[174] pendent of the Makhzen /makhzan/ there exist, or there were not long ago, little senates charged with administering the country; numerous indications show us that it was formerly the same in the Berbère /Berber/ regions now submissive. Now, the assembly of
[613] notables, heads of the "ikhs" who people each of the hamlets and who meet whenever the interests of the group are at stake, must be able at any instant to answer the call of its president. Whether
*634 a disturbance breaks out on the border of the territory with a little
721 nearby state over a violation of the pasturage, or a private war is suddenly ignited in the villages, which threatens the harmony among the brothers of the "taqbilt," so that one might fear an attack on the country by outside enemies by means of this disorder; it is immediately necessary to make all the decisions required in view of the combat or of the pacification. The dimensions of the
[131] canton that administers itself are then doubtless determined solely by the maximum distance that allows the notables to meet easily in one day in order to deliberate together.

*634 If this is the case, so that a functional law determines /158/
131 the maximum dimensions of the elementary Berbère state that the
728 canton is, one easily understands that too numerous a "taqbilt," led little by little to go beyond its primitive limits in order to ensure the subsistence of its families, might be constrained to cut

/158 cont./

*634 131 728 itself into two parts as soon as it has conquered or absorbed the neighboring territories and extended its frontiers. This division, which makes one think of the simplest mode of reproduction of the lower beings of the organic world, doubtless then appears spontaneously, at the risk of internal discord. The history of the struggles of the small states of the high mountains would give us numerous examples of such extensions followed by such divisions.

*634 131 728 619 [193] Thus, when a particularly active and bellicose group succeeds in extending itself by degrees and tries to conquer a whole valley, it splits internally. Such is the case of the Aït Haddiyous in the land of the Seksawa. Local traditions represent this group as formed originally by four fractions: the Aït Wasif, Ikourran, Aït Shaq, Aït Aougga; the first two would have disappeared, worn out by war; the other two would have founded successively the Aït Mousa, Aït Lhasen, Aït ᶜAbdallah, then the Intedan, Awines, Ibouban, Iwoulla, Wanzid, while the rallied foreign groups, the Idma and Tassa, were giving rise to the Aït Mehand (1).

1. F. de La Chapelle (Unpublished notes on the dissident tribes of the command of the Mtougga).

One moreover easily perceives in this case, -- and it would be easy to cite others throughout the Atlas --, the importance within the canton of the life of each of the smaller social groups, such as the village and the "mouda^{ᶜ}"; their numerical growth, the valor of their warriors have as a consequence an extension of the frontiers of the common territory to the detriment of the weakest nearby states; thus the "taqbilt" extends itself little by little and ends up by splitting into new fractions, without the separation of the parts always taking place abruptly. The apparent inequalities of these cantons can sometimes thus be explained.

*634 619 184 In this region, certain "taqbilt" almost correspond by their dimensions to what we usually call tribes, like the Aït Haddiyous or the Imediaoun, which gather together 600 or more hearths. Other "taqbilt" are fractions of average extent, like the Aït

*631 /166/ IX. The historic confederations. -- More positive is
*634 the bond that unites the fractions and tribes in the common and
619 sometimes confused memory of the great historical events in
175 which they took part in a sometimes distant past. We have discussed the role of the great Almohade tribes at the time of the Mahdi Ibn Toumert and the strong organization that they then accepted, to the point that each of them became like one of the columns on which ʿAbd el Moumen could rest the weight of the Empire, founded in 40 years, from Spain to Tunis. Likewise, the tribes that formed the Hintata until the sixteenth century, or those of the Haha in the nineteenth century, participated totally in conquests or in the exploitation of large commands. But, outside of these glorious periods, the bonds that unite the tribes and the fractions to one another loosen; the confederations hardly know any more than the elementary life of the small states that constitute them. Like certain lower and multicellular organisms of the animal world, they then present no trace of centralization.
*631 But something still survives from the temporary unity that they
*634 knew: slowly pushed from their habitat by the clashes with the
619 latest tribes to arrive in the plain, it happens that in progressively
175 changing territory they nevertheless keep the feeling of their unity.
131 This was done by the Haha, whose towns in the sixteenth century bordered the Tensift, if one is to believe Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/, and who now have the Qsob wadi as their northern frontier. At other times, like the Aït Waouzgit, they advance across the mountains by the great routes of communication; in fact, we see this group of fractions, the greater part of which remains in our day, as in the twelfth century, concentrated around the massif of the Sirwa, moreover extend itself toward the north and reach, by way of the Asif Nefis, the plain of Marrakech (1).

1. In the twelfth century the Aït Waouzgit, entirely distinct from the tribes of the Nefis, were established exclusively around the Sirwa. After a revolt they were divided into two parts and annexed to the Tinmellel and to the Hintata by

• [1928]

/166 cont./

*631
*634
619
175
131
•[728]

/footnote 1 continued/ order of Abd el Moumen (Documents inédits /Unpublished documents/, pp. 62, 194).

We again find at present a group of Aït /sic/ Waouzgit established on the Jebel Kik, former domain of the Hintata: this is the tribe of the Ouzgita of Agergour. The names of the leffs of the Nefis, the Aït Atman and Aït Iraten, are found again as names of leffs and of fractions in the Sirwa. In the middle of the nineteenth century, the two chiefs of Tagontaft and Telwet still remembered the brotherhood of the Aït Waouzgit of the Nefis and of the Glawa and they invoked it in order to lend each other mutual support at the time of the expedition of the Makhzen /makhzan/ against Tagontaft (cf. below, p. 400).

*631
619
175

But in the course of these periods without glory it also happens that the historical confederations cease to exist: their elements then stand intact but disjointed, thus the tribes of the Tichka, which are the scattered remains /167/ of the Genfisa of the thirteenth century; the tribes of the two versants of the Atlas to the east of the pass of the Glawa, today isolated, formerly formed the Heskoura. The confederations even come very near to disappearing completely when they are worn out by several centuries of external wars. But if an occasion for conquest presents itself anew, as happened to the Haha in the course of the last century, the confederation assembles again under the command of a great chief, again becomes conscious of its unity, and reconstitutes, for some generations, a patrimony of memories and traditions on which the following centuries will live.

*[634]

Except during the periods in which the great historical confederations fall completely under the domination of a single chief, the tribes or the fractions that form them do not have any common institutions. In any event they frequently keep for

*634 /345 cont./
*631 makhzen /makhzan/ leader only new burdens. In order to equip
652 his mokhaznis, supply them with arms, buy the complicity of
[648] the minor chiefs of the vicinity, and struggle at the court of the
[701] Makhzen against the dangerous influences of the nearby great chiefs by distributing considerable sums to the great ones, new resources are always needed. It is then necessary to impose on
[651] the tribes extraordinary contributions, "frida," to buy the lands
[728] from the ruined inhabitants or, better, to confiscate them, when villages have been destroyed and the families exiled. Hundreds
[567] of slaves are bought to cultivate these abandoned fields. The retinue of the house does not cease to grow. In proportion as the importance of the domains and of the command increases, the intermediaries also become more and more numerous, the harvests and the taxes melt away in their hands, and the chief receives no more than a small part of them.

[619] With an ever-increasing ambition, the kaid then tries to get,
[661] by force or by intrigue, to establish himself in the richest tribes in the vicinity, while the ruin of the ones that he already commands is consummated.

[466] Corvées, taxes, and fines are multiplied indeed, and, in
[651] order to find the money required by the mokhaznis, the peasants
[681] come to the casbah to sell their unripe harvests, their almonds in bloom, and to pawn their fields. Against the urgent necessity of
[571] finding resources, no consideration can hold if it is not that of
[557] keeping intact the very organization of the command by treating with respect the few families whose fate is bound up with that of the kaid. So the great concern of the chief is to acquire goods by every means. If this regime could continue /346/ to endure, the kaid, with his brothers, would come to possess all the lands of the country.

*634 Doubtless in the beginning preferential treatment is still re-
*631 served in the Asif Nefis for the "Aït Iraten," among whom the
616 Gontafi found so many allies; but later, when the memory of the
652 institution of the leffs is almost lost, after 40 years of internal
128 peace, the friendly cantons of the past will end up by being sub-
557 ject to the common regime of the "frida" and corvées. Only the